

THE
MYSTERIE
OF THE
TWO JVNTOS,

PRESBYTERIAN and INDEPENDENT.

OR,
THE SERPENT IN THE
BOSOME VNFOLED,

Newly re-printed, with large Additions.

PETRON. ARBITER.

*Omnes nobiscum aut Corvi qui lacerant,
aut Cadavera quæ lacerantur.*



Printed in the Year, 1647.

THE

STORY

OF THE

WARRIORS

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To my dread Sovereaigne.

Royall Sir,

You have drunke deepe in the Cup of affliction, and we all have Pledged you; it is wholsome though bitter; but let us pray to God to remove this Cup in time, for the dregs and lees are poyson. You have learned by over-winding the strings of authority, how to tune the People of this Monarchy without breaking their patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power which is a saile too great for any Vessel of mortality to bear; though it be never so well Ballasted with Justice, Wisedome, Moderation and Piety, yet one starbe or other will indanger the oversetting it. Those Common-wealths are most stable and pleasing where the State is so mixed, that every man (according to his degree and capacity) hath some interest therein to content him. The King, Sovereaigne Command and Power: The Nobility and Gentry, a derivative Authority and Magistracy, and all enjoy their Lawes, Liberties and Properties. God hath cursed him that removeth the Boundmarks of his neighbour: this is a comprehensive Curse, Kings enlarging their Prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleased to take heed therefore of two sorts of men, most likely to mislead you in this point. Ambitious Lawyers, who teach the Law to speak, not what the Legislators meant, but what you shall seeme to desire: To avoyd this snare, suffer your Parl. to nominate 3. men for every Iudges place, out of which you may please to choose one, as in pricking of Sheriffs. For it is the people that are obnoxious to their wickednesse: you are above the reach of their malice. The 2. sort is Parasiticall Divines: These ear-wigs are alwayes hovering in Princes Courts

hanging in their eares. They take upon them to make Princes beholding to their violent wresting of the text, to bestow upon them whatever Prerogative the Kings of Juda and Israel used or usurped, as if the Judicalls of Moses were appointed by God for all Common-wealthes, all Kings: as a good Bishoprick or living is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to be but Organon Politicum, an instrument of Government: and harden the hearts of Princes Pharaoh-like: Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable flattery. Sir you have more meanes to prefer them then other men, therefore they apply themselves more to ye: then other men doe. Tu facis hunc Dominum, Te facit ille Deum. The King makes the poor Priest a Lord; and rather then he will be behinde with the King in courtesie, he will flatter him above the condition of a mortall, and make him a God Royall. Sir, permit me to give you this Antidote against this Poyson; let an Act be passed, That all such Divines, as either by Preaching, Writing, or Discoursing, shall advance your Prerogative and Power above the known Lawes and Liberties of the Land, Forfeit all his Ecclesiasticall preferments ipso facto, and be incapable ever after, and for ever banished your Court. But above all, learn to trust in your own judgement: Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli: God hath enabled you to remember things past, to observe things present, and by comparing them together, to conjecture things to come; which are the three parts of wisdom that will much honour and advantage you: God keep your Majesty, so prayes

Your Humble Subject;

THEOPH. VERAX.

To his Excellency Sir Tho: Fairfax,
and the Army under his Command.

MY Lord & Gentlemen, I have here by way of preparation laid open to your view, those ulcers which you have undertaken to Cure, (*viz.*) The 2. *Factions in Parliament*, Authors of Schismes and Divisions in the two Houses from whence they are derived to the whole Kingdome, to the obstructing of Justice, and of the establishment of our *Laws, Rights, Liberties, and Peace*: the enslaving of the Parliament it selfe, and the dilapidating of the Publique Treasure: whereby the whole Kingdome may be enfranchised, secured and united: and the King and his Posterity settled in his due Rights. Which is the summe of all your undertakings in your many reiterated Papers I confesse a *Herouleau* labour, and farre beyond his cleansing of the *Augean Stable*. That was performed by an Arme of Flesh, This cannot be effected without an extraordinary calling (for ordinary calling thereto you have none; and God seldome bleseth a man out of his calling) and though an Heroique heat and zeal may goe farre, yet it will tire many miles on this side the work, unlesse it be blown and inspired with divine breath. And as *Alohyms* say of the *Philosophers* stone, so I of this worke (which is the *Philosophers* stone in our English Politiques) it cannot be effected but by a man of wonderfull and unspotted integrity and innocency; free from all fraud, self-seeking, and Partiality. In Order to this great worke you have already begun to sift and winnow the House of Commons by charging 11. Presbyterian Grandees: who, if they be proved guilty, must needs have their counterpanes equally faulty, even to a Syllable, in the opposite *Junto* of Independents: for when two factions shall conspire to toss and keep up the Golden ball of Government, Profit, and Preferment between them, neither can be innocent; unlesse therefore you apply your correlative to one ulcer as well as the other; you will never worke a complete cure, Nor will be free from scandall and appearance of faction or *Representation*.
designe (that I may use your owne words) to weaken onely one Party P.6.S.2.

(under the notion of unjust or oppressive) that you may advance another more your owne. Besides it is observed, that you speake but coldly to haue the Publike Accounts of the Kingdome Stated: putting it off with a wish only, as if you did secretly feare what the Presbyterians openly say, that the Independents are guilty of more Millions then their Party; your own words are. *We could wish the Kingdom might both be righted and publicly satisfied in point of Accounts for the vast summes that have beene leavyed: as also in many other things, &c.* But we are loath to presse any thing that may lengthen disputes. Are so many Millions to be cursorily passed over without dispute? were they not the blood and teares of the exhausted people, and the milk of their babes? Are they not like Achans wedge amongst us? Would it not much ease the people of their burthens, and goe farre in the payment of Souldiers and Publique debts, to have both the Kings and the Parliaments Spunges (of what Party and Profession soever) squeezed into the Common Treasury whensoever the Common-wealth settles? Review this clause well, and as the Parliament hath altered some votes for you, so doe you alter this Clause for the people; who long not only to see the Kingdome, but also our new-made Gentlemen *in statu quo prius*. Gentlemen, you that will give Counsell, will take it without offence against him that dares lay as good claime to justice and honesty as your selves.

THEODORUS VERAX.

To the un-biassed Reader.

YOU that are byassed with selfe-respects I write not to, you have your Aimes; and your Ends (before you are aware like Sh or, not feared till felt) will come upon you. To the upright in heart, though mis-led in judgement, I speake. Consider how by a prevaricating number of Grandees our first principles are altered; our Religion into Schisme, & Hypocritical profanenesse. Insomuch that the Lords Supper is now almost every where discontinued, for want of (I know not what) imaginary Vtopian holinesse. The Creed, Lords Prayer, & ten Commandments, (the instruments of Faith, Hope, Charity, teaching Omnia credenda, speranda & facienda) left out of the Directory. Thus much for Religion.

Our known Lawes (being the second Principle held out to the People by the Nationall Covenant, and many Declarations) are turned into Arbitrary, emergent, and up-start Orders and Ordinances of Parliament; every day rising, and every day withering like Mushromes. So that we are now governed Jure vago & incerto, by a leaden Lesbian rule, to which we cannot square our obedience and actions, but must stay till the Grandees that guid the Legislative power of Parliament make application of them to our actions. A great miserie.

The third Principle is our Liberties. What is become of them, this little treatise will tell you, as also of our properties. But stay! me thinks I heare men say, that the clamour and danger mutining at the Parliament doore these two last weeks, hath humbled our Grandees, and made them seeke the Lord with Fasting and prayer, I answer, let me tell you what succeeded in the House of Commons, when a Letter and Declaration from the Army being tendred to be read, some of the Grandees answered, that if they should read those demands, they might chance to finde them of that nature, as they can neither with justice deny them, nor with honour grant them, because it was not honourable for them to doe their dutie upon admonition of their Army, being but their servants, and would savour of compulsion. To prevent this, they resolved to take into consideration freely, and of their own accord, the Grievances which scandalized the people. They went there-
fore

fore upon 3. Heads: 1. The Selfe-denying Ordinance. Upon which they Voted (as they said by a Preparatory Vote only) That all Members holding any Offices, Grants, or Places by concession of the Parliament, shall account for, and pay in the profits thereof to the Grand Committee of Accounts. This I conceive (under favour of the Grantees, who possess those places, and contrived this Vote) to be a mere delusory Order: For who can believe that such self-seeking men, as all men know them to be, will execute those offices for nothing, and pay in, to the use of the State, their profits. Besides, it is apparent how subservient to these Grantees, their owne creatures, the Committee of Accounts are.

2. They Voted, That no money hereafter should be given to any Member in compensation or recompence of his losses, untill the Publique Debts be paid. Here the Grantees were in earnest, because their owne turnes are already served, and the losse and inconvenience of this Vote falls onely upon the much contemned Middle or Moderate Members.

3. They appointed a Committee to consider how to take off the Grievance arising from such Members as abusing the Priviledge of Parliament, refuse to pay their debts.

Proh Superi ! quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent ; Ipso sceleris molimine Tereus
Creditor esse pius ; laudemq; a crimine sumit.

Let not the Grantees be offended, that I discover those sicknesses which they labour to cover ; Ante morbos, necesse est, cognitos esse, quam remedia eorum. God onely can be the Æsculapius, and cure them. But I am afraid they desire rather a slight suppurating, then a perfect cure ; and that they pray rather to hide, then help their evils.

Da fallere, justum, sanctumq; videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

If this be their condition, quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat; quos tueri vult, suscitatur. I have done my duty even in this generation, quando dicere quod nolo miserum, quod volo & debeo periculosum, I leave the successe to God, resting,

Thine,

TH BODORUS VERAX.

The Myſterie of the two Iunto's, Presbyterian and Independent, with ſome Additions.

THe Kingdome being overgrown with *Prerogative, Corruption, and Superſtition*, (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long diſcontinuance of Parliaments; At laſt by Providence his Maieſty was neceſſitated to call a Parliament, the onely Colledge of Phyſitians to purge the much diſtempered body of the Common-wealth.

In this Parliament a conſteſt between the *Kings Prerogative* and the *Peoples Lawes and Liberties* begat a war. The *Divines* on both ſides out of their Pulpits ſounding Alarume thereto: and not onely *Sermons*, but *Declarations of Parliament*, and the *Nationall Covenant*, holding forth to the people the defence of Religion, Lawes, Liberties, and Properties, inflamed the people to the rage of battell, as the Elephant is intraged at the ſight of Red. This War occaſioned extraordinary Taxes and Levies of money, ſuch as were never heard of by our Anceſtors, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurſe of our corruptions.

This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the ſpeaking and leading members of the Houſes, cauſed them firſt to interweave their particular intereſts and ambitions with the publique, and laſtly to prefer them before the publique.

Wherefore the ſaid *Leading men or Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language) Firſt divided themſelves into *two factions* or *Iunto's, Presbyterians and Independents*; ſeeming to look onely upon the Church, but (Religion having the ſtrongeſt operation upon the ſpirit of man) involved the intereſts of the Common-wealth.

The common people of the Two Houſes following (with an implicate faith and blind obedience) the example of their leaders, divided themſelves alſo into the ſaid Dichotomy; which they did with more ſeriouſneſſe then their leaders, as not perceiving any thing of deſigne therein: But according to the diverſity of their judgements, or rather fancies and confidings (for to reſigne a

mans judgment to the opinion of another man is but a silly trust and confidence) studied the upholding of their parties with earnestness; whilst the Grandees of each party in private close together for their own advancement, serving one anothers turn.

6. The *Grandees* (in all publique debates) seem as reall in their reciprocall oppositions , as those silly ones who are in earnest, whereby they cherish the zeale of their respective parties, keepe them still divided, (*Divide & impera* is the devils rule) and so amuse them, and take them off from looking after other interests, in which, were they conjoynd, they might share with the Grandees themselves : and for the better contentment of such their Confidants as look too intently after their owne gain, the Grandees of each *funto* confer somthing of advantage upon those that are subservient to them, as five pounds a week, or some petty imployment.

7. The seeds of these factions spread themselves into the Common-wealth and Armies, as Rheume distils from the head into all the body.

8. Thus the leading men or Bell-wethers having *seemingly divided themselves*, and having *really divided the Houses*, and captivated their respective parties judgment, teaching them by an Implicite faith *Jurare in verba Magistri*, to pin their opinions upon their sleeves ; They begin to advance their Projects of Monopolizing the profits, preferments, and Power of the Kingdome in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerfull Independent especially moves for a Presbyterian : or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent : & seldom doth one oppose or speak against another, in such cases, unlesse somthing of particular spleene or Competition come betweene, which causeth them to breake the common Rule. By this meanes the Grandees of each faction seldom misse their mark, since an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his reputation carries the businesse cleare with the Independent party : and the Presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the Grandees of each side share the Common-wealth between them: And are now become proud, domineering *Rehoboams*, even over the rest of their fellow

Monopolizing profits
and preferments.

fellow members, contrarie to the liberty of Parl. which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning, abitious Absaloms.

There hath beene lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at) at least 300000.l. in money; besides rich offices, Employments in money Committees, Sequestrations and other advantages. And those members who have so well served themselves under colour of serving the publike, are, for the most part, old Canvassers of Factions who have sate idly and safely in the house watching their advantages to confound businesses, and thuffle the cardes to make their owne game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publike work like Israelites under these Egyptian task-masters, and lost their estates, are left to starve, untill they can find reliefe in that empty bag called by fooles *fides publica*, by wise men *fides punica*. And are now looked upon in the House superciliously, like unwelcome guests, for it is known how malignantly and how jugglingly writs for new elections were granted and executed, and called *younger brothers*, and like younger brothers they are used: their elder brothers having slipped into the world before them, and anticipated the inheritance; They have broken first into the common field, & shut the doore to prevent after comers even from gleaning after their full harvest. For the better effecting whereof they have now morgaged, in effect, all the meanes they have to raise money unto the City. And being themselves fat and full with the publike Treasure, to expresse rather their scorne then care, they are making an Ordinance that no more money shall be given to their Members: And yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have *cheated* the Common-wealth *under them*, I will not say *for them*: They have taken advantage of the petition of the Army: wherein they desired Indempnitie for all acts done in Relation to the Warre. And have passed an Ordinance of Indempnity for all such, as have acted *by authority* and *for the service* of the Parliament, wherein, under great penalties, and with an appeal at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament, such as have gone beyond the authority given by Parliament, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have leavyed taxes three or

four times over, are quit from private actions: and the benefit of Law and Justice taken from the Oppressed, to secure *Coun-try Committees, Sequestrators* and others (not *Prerogative*, but *Legislative*) *Theeves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which sayes, *nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*; We will deny, nor defer justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts, and of greater tyrannie then any King ever durst adventure upon! What is become of our *Nationall Cov.* and the Parliaments many *Declarations* for defence of Lawes and Liberties? Or have we fought our liberty into slavery? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the house (whose consciences will not let them joyne in any faction to rend the Common-wealth in sunder) are out of all possibility of repaire, and made contemptible as well by their owne wants, as the pride of the *Grandeas*: and in the end, their poverty wil inforce them to leave the sole possession of the house to these *thriving Iunto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all taxes, from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the house payes tribute to the richer. Nay it is farther whispered, that at last the *Iunto men* will quit the Parliament Priviledge of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their Creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

10. Another ambitious ayme of those *Iunto men* is their devise of *Committes* referring all businesses of moment to *Committees*. For the active *of the Houses*, speaking men by mutuall agreement naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *fore-stall and intercept* the businesses of the House, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the house with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House (judging according to their report) oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a business they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artificiall delays to put it off, and keep it from a hearing, or at least from reporting. By this meanes the remaining part of the House are but cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is forejudged by the said Committees. This usurpation of theirs is much helped by keeping the doors of their Committee roomes shut, and dispatching all affaires privately and in the dark. Whereas Justice delights

delights in the light, and ought to be as publique as the common aire, it being against its nature to be chambered up and kept from the observation of eye, and eare-witnesses.

And by their examining of men against themselves, contrary to *Magna Charta*, they much enlarge their power.

Parts of this project wee may well call the *Multiplicity of money Committees*, as Goldsmithes-hall, Haberdashers-hall, the Committee of the Kings Revenues, Committee of the Army, &c. Where everie mans profit and power is according to his cunning and conscience. Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for he that commands the money, commands the men: These Committee-men are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their fellow members, contrary to the nature of a free Parliament: wherein the equality of the members must maintaine the freedome and integrity thereof, and suppress factions.

11.
Money Committees.

The like may be said of such members as (in scorn of the *self-denying Ordinances*) hold offices by gift or connivence of the Parliament: either openly in their own name, or secretly in the name of some friend. Their offices enabling them to do courtesies and discourtesies. And although there hath bin a Committee appointed to certifie all pensions, Sequestrations, offices, employments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their members, in which Committee *M. Sands* holdeth the chair; yet is this meerly a formality to blind the eyes of the world, and foole the expectation of some losing members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their losses, and how farre they had out-run their fellow-members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no reports demanded of *M. Sands*: and when anie is to be made, they are not unprovided of a meanes to make it fruitlesse, by putting every particular to debate: well knowing that no man will be willing to argue against the particular persons and merits of his fellow-members, and thereby heap envy upon his owne head; besides the delay of a particular debate.

12.
Members holding Offices, &c.

How frequently the *Countrey Committees* act contrary to the Lawes of the Land: how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet, how boldly and avowedly they transgress all Orders and

13.
Countrey Committees.

Ordi-

Ordinances of Parliament, and break our Solemne League and Covenant, how they ordinarily turne well-affected men out of their free-holds and goods, imprison and beat their persons without any known charge, accuser, or witness against them. Nay murder them, as in the case of Doctor *Rawleygh* killed in prison at *Welles* by the Committees Marshall. And the poor men murdered at *Bridgewater*, whose bloods were shed like the blood of a dog, and no reall prosecution therefore. How frequently they leave one tax three or four times over, and continue their leavies after the Ordinances expire. How cruelly they raise the twentieth and fifth part upon the well-affected; exercising an illegall, arbitrary, tyrannicall power over their fellow subjects, farre higher then ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durst advise the King to. How ignorantly and unjustly they exercise a power to *heare and determine*, or rather to determine without hearing, or heare without understanding, *private controversies of Meum & Tuum*, for debts, trespasses, nay title and possession of Lands without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners nor breeding enough, as being chosen for the greatest part, out of the basest of the people for base ends, to satisfy men with an outside, or Complement of justice: Insomuch that nothing is now more common, then an accusation without an Accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. How they exclude all other Magistracy, ingrossing to themselves the power of Sherifes, Justices of Peace, Church-wardens, &c. in an arbitrary way: Keeping Troups of Horse upon Pay and Free-quarter for their guards, like the 30. Tyrants of *Athens*: And if any man but speak of calling them to give Account, they presently vote him a Delinquent, and sequester him. If any man, I say, be so deaf as not to heare the loud universall outcrying of the people; so great a stranger in our *Israel* as not to know these truths, let him peruse M. *Edward Kings* discoverie of the arbitrarie actions of the Committee of *Lincolne*, and the Heads of Grievances of *Glamorganshire*, printed 1647. where he may see these things briefly Epitomized: But to historize them at large would require a volumn as big as the book of *Martyrs*. These Committees are excellent sponges to suck money from the people, and to serve not only their own, but also the Covetous, Malicious,

licitious, ambitious ends, of those that raked them out of the dung-hill for that imployment, and do defend them in their oppressions. Who is so blind as not to see that these men have their protectors? The *Damones* to whom they offer up part of their rapins; to whom they sacrifice,

Occulta spolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to restore our Lawes and Liberties, & free us from Arbitrary Government: it is fit these Committees and all associations be laid downe, having no enemy to associate against, and that the old form of Government by Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, &c. be re-established; and the *Militia* in each County settled as before, in Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants, or in Commissioners.

The rather because the people are now generally of opinion, They may as easily find Charity in Hell as Justice in any Committee; and that the King hath taken down one Starre-Chamber, and the Parliament hath set up an hundred.

Nor is it a small artifice to raise money by so many severall and confused Taxes. Whereas one or two wayes orderly used and well husbanded, would have done the work. 1. Royall Subsidie of 300000. 1. 2. Pole money. 3. The free Loanes and Contributions upon the Publique Faith amounted to a vast incredible summe in Money, Plate, Horse, Armes, &c. 4. The Irish Adventure for sale of Lands the first and second time. 5. The Weekly Meale. 6. The Citie Loane after the rate of 50. Subsidies. 7. The Assessment for bringing in the Scots. 8. The 5. and 20. part. 9. The Weekly Assessment for my L. Generals Army. 10. The Weekly (or Monthly) Assessment for Sir Thomas Fairfax Army. 11. The Weekly Assessment for the Scottish Army. 12. The Weekly Assessment for the Brittish Army in Ireland. 13. The Weekly Assessment for my Lord of *Manchesters* Army. 14. Free-quarter (at least) convived at by the State, because the Souldiers having for a time subsistence that way, are the lesse craving for their pay: whereby their Arrears growing stale, will, at last, either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts or forgotten, in the meane time, the Grand Committee of Accounts discount it out of the Commanders Arrears, whereby the State saves it. 15. the Kings Revenue. 16. Sequestrations and Plunder

14.
Taxes.

der by Committees, which if well answered to the State would have carried on the worke : which thus I demonstrate, One halfe of all the goods and chattels, and (at least) one halfe of all the Lands, Rents and Revenues of the Kingdome have been Sequestred. And who can imagine that one halfe of the Profits and Goods of the Land will not maintaine any Forces that can be kept and fed in *England* for the defence thereof? 17. Excise upon all things. This alone if well managed would maintaine the Warre, the Low-Countries make it almost their onely support. 18. Fortification money, &c. By these severall wayes and Taxes about 40 *Millions* in money and money-worth have been milked from the people: and the Parliament (as the Pope did once) may call England, *Puteum inexhaustum*; yet is it now almost drawn dry. A vast Treasure and so excessive, as nothing but a long peace could import; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could dissipate. And we ought not to wonder if it be accounted *inter arcana novissimi imperii*, to be alwaies making, yet never finishing an account therof.

15
Accounts.

And as they have artificially confounded the accompts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; so (for the same reason) they let the money run in so many muddy, obscure channells, through so many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, issuing and paying it forth, that it is impossible to make or ballance any publique account thereof: and at the least one halfe thereof is knowne for to be devoured by Committees and Officers; and those that for lucre protect them. By these meanes as they make many men partners with them in the publique spoyle, so they much strengthen and increase their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit poenam*.

*Accounts
again.*

If these things were not purposely done, 1. our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect. 2. They would be put to run in one channell, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perspicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and disbursements, which would be publique to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of Accompts is the exactest, ancientest, and best known way of account of England, and most free from deceit: Which is almost confessed *de facto*, when, to make the Kings Revenue more obnoxious to their desires, they took

took it out of the Exchequer way, (contrary to the Fundamentall Lawes of the Land ; for both the Higher and Lower Exchequer are as ancient and fundamentall as any Court in England) and put it under a Committee, which, as all other Committees doe, will render an account of their stewardship at the latter day. In the meane time divers of that Committee buy in old sleeping Penfions which they pay themselves from the first of their arreares : yet other men that have disbursed money out of their purses for the Kings Service, can receive no pay for any money laid forth before *Michaelmas* Terme, 1643. because (forsooth) then the Committee first took charge of the Revenue. In the meane time the Kings Tenants and Debtors are deprived of the benefit of the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject, which before they enjoyed : all Debts and Monies being now raised by the terrour of Pursuivants and Messengers, whose Commissions are onely to distrain and levy, &c. whereas formerly the Exchequer sent out legall Proceſs, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his owne defence, if he thought himselfe wronged ; but now New Lords, new Lawes, and to countenance their doings, the Committee have gotten an addition of some Lords to them. 3. If there were faire play above board, so many Members of both Houses would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends Task-Masters, Publicans, and such sinners as sit at the receipt of Custome, being no part of the businesse, for which the writ summons, or the people choose or trust them, and whereby they are diverted from the businesse of the House : but would leave that employment to other men who not having the character and privilege of Parliament upon them, will be lesse able to protect themselves & their agents from giving publique accounts of their receipts and disbursements and from putting affronts and delays upon the Committee of Accompts, as (it is well known) some of them have done. Lastly, it is scandalous that the same men should be continued so long in their money employments because *Diuturnitas & solitudo corrumpunt Imperia* ; and by long continuance and experience they grow so hardened, so cunning in their way and so backed with dependencies, that it is almost impossible to trace them. And although (when wee look upon the many persons employed) we cannot say there is *solitudo personarum* ;

yet when we consider that by a long partnership in their employments they are allyed together in one common interest; they are to be esteemed but as one man, for a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind pursuing one and the same end or interest.

16.
*Committee
of Accounts.*

And though they have a generall Committee of Accompts, yet they were nominated by those members that ought to give Accompts: and it must needs be suspicious for an Accomptant to choose those persons before whom he shall accompt. And we see (after so long a time of their sitting) no fruit thereof. Whereas the people did hope, that after so much money spent, and such great debts and arreares left to pay, (whereby they are threatened with continuance of their Taxes) That a full and exact generall accompt of all Receipts and Disbursements would have been published in Print, for their satisfaction as is usually done in the Low-Countries, and as was once done by this Parliament, *Anno 1642.* by a Declaration of the accounts of the Kingdome.

But, it may be the Synod in favour of the Grandees have voted that place in Scripture. (*Render an account of thy Stewardship*): to be but Apocryphall.

17.
*Wants of the
Parl. and
how occasioned.*

By the exorbitant courses, though they have drayned 40. Millions from the people yet (as *Philip of Macedon* was said to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops*) they are falne to such ridiculous want and beggerie that they have lately pawned almost all the security they have for 200000. l. to disband the Army, and enter upon the Irish employment. They have slit Goldsmiths Hall in sunder, and given one side thereof to the City, and kept the other halfe thereof to themselves and that already charged with 200000. l. at least. So that if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jews of the City, and cannot raise one peny but by new taxes upon the people. It was worth observing to see how officiously some of the old Stagers took leave of the Publique Purse before it came into Hucksters hands. Alderman *Pennington* had a debt of 3000. l. he owed to Sir *John Pennington* forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveness of his sins more heartily) and 3000. l. more given him out of Goldsmiths-Hall in course. The reason of this bounty was forked or two-fold:

1. Because he had got enough before.

2. To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia. But the most observable thing was, to see this old Parliament like a young Prodigal take up money upon difficult termes, & intangle all they had for a security.

1. They gave way to the City to hedge in an old debt, being a loane of money after the rate of 50. Subsidies : and other old debts.

2. Whereas 200000. l. onely was the summe to be borrowed ; the City injoyned them to take up 230000. l. whereof the odde 30000. l. to be borrowed for reliefe of decayed occupiers of the City: So that, upon the matter, the Parliament payes 30000. l. Broakage.

3. That the City may not trust the greatest unthrifts of Christendome with laying out their own money ; they put upon them two Treasurers of the City to receive & disburse it for the service for which it was borrowed. So ye see they have now neither credit, money, nor a purse to put it in.

So that the *modest Members* who have beene more forward to help their Country then themselves, are left in the lurch for their losses, and exposed to the laughter of their elder brothers the old *Junto men* and Factionous leaders of the house ; all being now engaged to the *Lombards* of the City. The *thriving Members* hope their younger brothers will continue as modest, as they have beene, and digest all with patience. But others, and those neither fools nor knaves, hope all the *modest and middle men* of the houses, such as are engaged in no faction, will be provoked hereby to draw into a third party or *Junto*, to moderate the excesses of the other two, when any thing prejudicial to the Common-wealth is agitated: and to call the old *Junto men*, those land Pyrates to account, making them cast up what they have swallowed, and bring it to a common *dividend*. Or rather to pay the Army and publique debts, whereby the people may be eased of their pressures. Nor let them be discouraged with the supposed difficulty hereof, since 20. or 30. men holding together, and observing the crosse debates, and different way of each party, may easily make themselves moderators of their differences, and turn the scales for the best advantage of the common, which way they please to cast in

18.
Modest and middle members,

their votes, since it is very rare to have any question carried by more then eight or tenne voyces.

29.
Grandees
provision to
save them-
selves.

Most of these *Grandees* are reported to have for *their retreat*, houses in the Low Countreys richly furnished with sequestred Plate, Linnen, and Stuffe: and great store of money in bank for their shelter, against such stormes as their Rapine, Tyrannie and Ignorance may happily raise here amongst us. In those their retirements, these Authors of our miseries will injoy their sinnes, & our spoiles in security attending an opportunity to purchase their peace at last, and betray our Safeties and Liberties to the enraged Prince and People. This is called robbing the *Aegyptians*. And doubtless these ambitious state-Mountebanks have brought us into a darknes worse then *Aegyptian*. The text saith, the *Aegyptians* rose not from their places in three dayes: They yet knew where they were: which is more then we do, every man being out of his place & ranck. The Servant in place of his Master, the Begger in place of the King the Foole in place of the Councillour the Thief in place of the Judge, the Cheater in place of the Treasurer, the Clowne in place of the Gentleman; none but God alone can play *Dadalus* part, and give us a Clue to lead us out of this labyrinth, into which these unpolitique *Hocas Pocasses* have brought us. These unskilfull workmen that have built up Babel, and pulled down Sion. Others are said to prepare Forraigne Plantations for Retreat; To people which, children are ravished from their parents arms and Shipped away; an abomination not known in *England* before, and therefore no competent Law made against it; no more then in ancient Rome against Parricides.

20.
Grandees
their severall
interests and
severall strength
yes. The
Army, which
if he can keepe
up, he hopes to
give the Law to
all; and to produce
that great Chymara
Liberty of Conscience:
not considering that
the confusion and
licentiousnesse of
such a liberty will
destroy it selfe,
Libertas Libertate perit.
The *Presbyterians*
have three pillars to
support them. 1. *The City*
is their cheife
foundation with
which they keepe a
strict correspondencie,
and dayly communication
of Councells. Upon this
consideration,

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on, they have lately put the Parliament Purse into the Cities Pocket, as aforesaid; settled and enlarged the City Militia; VWhereas all the Countries of England (being more obnoxious to injuries then the City) suffer much for want of settling their Militia; the Parliament not trusting them with Arms, so much as for their owne defence: An evident signe there is a further designe then disbanding this Army. And because the City Militia can onely keepe in awe the adjacent South and East counties of the Kingdome; therefore to suppress the remoter parts, and inforce them to obedience, they keep up some *in-land Garisons*, and have the Scots and *G. Poyntz supernumerary forces* for the North. And in *the West* (under colour of sending men for Ireland) they keepe upon free quarter and pay of the country, *many supernumerary Regiments* and Troops most cavaliers; at least five times as many as they really intend to transport. These are alwayes going but never gone: Like Saint George, alwayes in his saddle, never on his way. Something ever is, and shall be wanting untill Sir Thomas Fairfax's Army be disbanded; and then (it is thought) the disguise will fall off, and these supernumeraries shall appear a new modelled Army under Presbyterian commanders, you may be sure, and such whose consciences shall not befoole their wits, where any matter of gain appeareth; If this be not their ayme, why did they not disband these lewd Supernumeraries before last winter, since they might have raised as many men the spring following for half the charge their very free quarters cost? And most of these sweare they will not go for Ireland, vowing they will cut the throats of the Round-Heads.

The Country is amazed, fearing these cavaliers are kept on free quarter by a cavaleerish party for some cavaleerish Designe. Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sir Thomas Fairfax Army into two parts, one to go for Ireland, the other to stay in England, being already modelled, Excellently disciplined, and having the visible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for Ireland, a few for England, and leave a Coare in the middle to be plucked forth and disbanded, was the way to discontent them, and put them into mutiny: and thereby necessitate the Parliament to disband them all: and give an opportunity to them that seek it, to new modell another army out of the

aforesaid Supernumeraries more plyable to the desires of the Presbyterian Junto; Adde hereunto the causelesse exasperating speeches and aspersions cast upon most of the Army purposely, as moderate men think, to discontent them. Thirdly if they have no intent to keep up an Army against the people, why have they continued the military charge for another yeare; and enlarged it from 52000 l. to 60000 l. a moneth?

21.
Presbyters.

Thus the *City, In-land Garisons and Supernumerarie Forces new modelled* are like to prove the threestringed whip, wherewith the Presbyterian Phaetons will drive their triumphant Chariot, if they prevail; to which may be added the *Presbyters* themselves, who by overawing mens Consciences with their Doctrine, will subdue and work mens minds like wax to receive any impression of bondage, that tyranny and oppression can set upon them, as they do in Scotland: The Clergy in all times and places, have ever held with the mighty, as the Jacco hunts still with the Lion to partake of his prey. The Clergy have ever had an itch to be meddling with State-affaires which shewes how contemptible an opinion they have of their own Coate, that they can finde no contentment in it; yet they would have the Laity to have a reverend opinion of it. The Popish Clergy draw all Civill Affaires, publike and private, under their jurisdiction and cognisance, *quatenus* there is *peccatum* in all humane actions; the Presbyterians *quatenus* there is *scandalum* in all humane actions, what is the oddes? *Pecatum* is the mother, *scandalum* the daughter, and both pretend they do this *in ordine ad Deum*. But universall experience teacheth us how miserable that Common-wealth is, where the corruption of a Church-man proves the generation of a Statesman.

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Queries* to those that are of better judgement then my self.

*Queres upon
the premises.*

1 *Quere*, VVhy the title and punishment of Malignants is translated from the Cavaliers who fought for Regall Tyranny against the Parliament, and laid upon those that fought against Regall Tyranny for the Parliament. Is it not because those Cavaliers that have fought for one Tyranny will not be scrupulous to fight for another? and such well affected as have opposed Tyranny in one kinde, will not admit of it in another? VVhy is it

now

now accounted a note of malignity and disaffection to endeavour the putting down of Arbitrary Government and re-establishing our Lawes, liberties and properties; whereto the Par. by their many Declarations and their national Covenant are bound? Lay this to heart, and consider whether they have not changed these their first principles, and consequently whether they are not desirous to change their old friends who resolutely adhere to the said principles.

2. If the King grant the Propositions; or if he deny them, and the *Predominant Junto* (or both *Junto's* joyned together, to drive on one common interest?) for it is now thought they are upon an accommodation to keep up that power *conjunctim* which they despaire to uphold *divisim*) establish the military and civill power without him, according to their desires, and in order to their aymes. *Quare*, whether the said leading men settled in their postures with their confident guards about them, may not draw after them so many of their party, as upon an implicate faith will follow them and lick up the crums of the publique spoiles under their Tables: expelling or disabling (as aforesaid) the disingaged members, and by this policy make themselves perpetuall Dictators, incorporating and ingrossing to themselves both the consultive, Directive and Ministeriall power of the Kingdom in all causes civil and Militarie setting up an *Oligarchy* or popular Tyranny in stead of a Regall: As the thirty Tyrants of Athens did. In order whereto they already declare, 1. That an Ordinance of Parliament without the Kings Royall assent is equall to an Act of Parliament. 2. That an Ordinance is above a Law by virtue of their Legislative power: upon which presuming in their Ordinance of indemnity they have granted an Appeal from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament. See the Ordinance May 21. 1647. 3. That they are the irrevocable Trustees of the peoples lawes, liberties and properties, without account: with other *principles preparative to Tyrannie*.

3. *Quare* VVhy Arbitrary and Barbarous Government by Committees & other Illegall proceedings (which in time of war were used upon Reall or pretended necessity, and were then onely excusable, because *necessitas tollit Legem*) are still continued upon

us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet, and without any further pretence of necessity, contrary to their Nationall Covenant, and all their Declarations? Is it not, to inure the people to servitude, and exercise their patience?

4. *Quare*, Whether the prodigious oppressions of Committees, Sequestrators, &c. and of Free-quarter, be not purposely countenanced to necessitate the people to rise in tumults, that thence occasion may be taken to keep In-land Garrisons and Armies?

5. *Quare*, Whether our Lawes, Liberties and Properties are not now as lyable to an Invasion from the *Legis-lative power*, as formerly from the *Prerogative*? considering that those who like ambitious *Absalom* courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles, now like haughty *Rehoboams* care not though the people complain: Their little finger is heavier then the loins of the King. The controversie between the two *Junto's* being no more, then whose slaves we shall be.

6. *Quare*, Whether if the King hereafter tread in the steps of this Parliament and their Committees, he will not be a greaer Tyrant then either the Turk, Russe, or French, and have as absolute dominion over his subjects as the Devill hath over damned soules in Hell? And how dangerous these presidents may be to those Lawes and Liberties which we have sworne to maintain?

33. If the *middle and disingaged men* in the House, doe not speedily unite themselves into a party or *Junto*, as the factious have done, *Middle and Moderate members againe.* and communicate their counsels; They will be *arena sine calce*, loose sand dissipated by every breath: and neither serviceable for themselves nor their countrey. Whereas if they unite twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Vmpeers between both parties; (as hath beene already said) Let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is, to see nothing almost of great and publique concernment come into the House, but what hath bin *before hand contrived, debated and digested* in one or both of the two *Junto's* at their *private meetings*: and put into so resolved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every man is appointed his part or Cue before-hand: One man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him: One man speake

to one part of the argument, another to another part : another to keep himsefse to the last for a reserve, and speak to the question, which he is provided to qualifie with a distinction, or vary it, if he find it difficult to passe. Thus all publique busineses are measured by private respects; whereby it appears, that as *frequent Parl. are good physick*: so continuall Parl. are *bad food*; & the people may complain, that *qui medice vivit misere vivit*. Parliaments are *Bona peritura*; they cannot keepe long without Corruptions. Their perpetuity emboldens the members, by taking from them all feare of being called to account: Especially if they get their sonnes into the House as well as themselves (as many have done this Parliament: and more endeavour to do) whereby they have an estate in their places for two or three lives; Moreover by long sitting they become so familiar with one anothers Persons and designs, as to serve one anothers turnes, to joyne interests, and to draw into factions, *Hodie mihi cras tibi*. If you and your party will helpe me to day, I and my friends will help you to morrow.

Miserima Resp: ubi majestas Imperii, & salus populi discordibus conflistantur studiis. What shall we say?

En quo discordia tetra—perduxit miseros?

Shall we complaine to God? God hath a controversie with us. Of whom shall we complaine? Of our selves? we must first reform our selves: We that take upon us to reforme Church and Common-wealth. Shall we complaine of our sinnes? aske the grace of repentance first; and so aske that we may obtaine. Shall we complaine of our punishments? Let us first repent, and amend our sins that caused them. Let us first pluck off the mask of hypocrisie, God will see through such a fantastickall garment of Fig-leaves. Let us no longer make Religion a stalking-horse; God who is all Wisdome and all Truth, will not be deceived. If we talke like Christians, and walke like Turkes, Christ will not owne us. To fast for a day, and hang our heads like bulrushes, will not reconcile us. VVe must fast from publique spoyles, rapines and oppression, and not drink the tears of the poore and needy. Shall we complaine with the Prophet, That our Princes are become Theeves? that was heretofore our complaint, now we must invert it, and cry That our Theeves (meane and base people) are

D

become

24.
Conclusion
with some
complaints.

become Princes. VVe are sick, very sick, intemperately sick; and God hath given us a Physician in his wrath, a leper as white as snow, fitter to infect then cure us. VVnat Physick doth he prescribe? Payson. VVnat Diet? Stones in stead of bread, Scorpions in stead of fishes, hard fare for them that formerly fed so daintily. Before I conclude let me give you the Pedigree of our Misery, and of their remedies. A long Peace begat Plenty, Plenty begat Pride and her sister Riot; Pride begat Ambition, Ambition begot Faction, Faction begot Civill warre: And (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not fallen *in idemparis quo nec vita nostra, nec eorum remedia ferre possumus*) our warre will beget Poverty, Poverty Humility, Humility Peace again, *Sic rerum reversionibus vicibus annulus vertitur Politicus*. The declining spoake of the wheel will rise againe. But we are not yet sufficiently humbled, we have not repented with *Niniveb*. We weare Silks, and Velvets in stead of Sack-cloth and ashes (even the meanest up-starr hath his thefts writ upon his back by his Tailour, in proud Characters of Gold lace) we have not watered our couch with our Teares, but with adulterous swear. Looke to it therefore ye state *Incubi*, that by an incestuous copulation have begot plenty upon Warre, and filled your houses with the spoyle and plunder of your deare Countrey; an inundation of blood, and of the tears of the oppressed will wash away the foundation of your houses; And peace will be farre from you in this world, but especially that peace which the world cannot give: And because *Salamander*-like you delight in the fire of contention; an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you escape all accounts here, yet upon the great day of account when you shall receive your sentence of condemnation; those your children for whose preferment you sell your souls, your God for gold, shall not shew so much thankfulness of pity towards you, as to say, alas our father! But your hearts are hardned with *Pharaoh*, I leave you therefore to *Pharaohs* destiny, to be drowned in your own Red Sea, as he was in his.

25.

Resolution &
scope of the
Author.

Thus farre I adventured to vindicate our Religion, Lawes and Liberties with my pen; in discharge of my Conscience, and pursuance of our Nationall Covenant which obligeth us to defend them against whosoever to our power; neither knowing nor caring

ring whether in so wicked an age (wherein vice is honoured, and vertue contemned) I may be thought worthy of punishment for being more righteous then my superiors. I know an honest man is wondered at like a monster, and the innocency of his life and conversation suspected as a Libell against the State, yet if I perish I perish ; & *pericundum in licitis*. Nor am I lesse provided of a safe retreat then our Grandees. My grave is open for me, and one foot in it already. *Contempsit omnes ille qui mortem prius*. He that contemnes death, scornes both Hope and Feare ; which are the only affections that make Knaves, Fooles and Cowards of all the world. The world is a goodly Theater, we the Actors, God is Poet and chiefe spectator. VVe must not choose our owne parts, that is at Gods appointment. One man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger, one a Comick, another a Tragick part : VVhatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personate it ingenuously and aptly : Not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my tyring Roome, my Tombe ? nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a Plaudit from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my selfe for the worst of evils in this worst of times ; and pray to God to reforme our Reformers. *Amen.*

T H E E N D,

(10)

The first of these is the fact that the
 government has been unable to raise the
 necessary funds to meet its obligations.
 This has been due to a number of factors,
 including the fact that the government has
 been unable to raise the necessary funds
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 of factors, including the fact that the
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CYCLE

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